

The Voting Behavior of Muslim Communities in the 2014 Legislative Election in Kapas, Bojonegoro

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Keywords:	Abstract
Voting behaviour, political party identification, religious organizations.	This research is an analysis of the voting behaviour of Moslem people shown by residents of Kapas r, Bojonegoro in 2014. It is a descriptive analysis to explain the correlation between 4 variables in determining people's vote in 2014's legislative election in Kapas regency. These variables are: legislative party/nominees proposed programme, identification of the party, money politics, and affiliated religious organization. The researcher used quantitative method to collect the data and descriptive analysis in the forms of data distribution and data frequency which were collected through questionnaires. In addition, the researcher used Chi Square testing and contingency coefficient to find whether the variables are correlated to each other. There are three general approach to describe the voting behaviour in this research: sociology approach, psychology approach, and rational approach. The majority of theories referred by the researcher were theories by Paul F. Lazarfeld- Bernard Berelson, Angus Campbel, and Anthony Downs. Result of this research suggests that two of the aforementioned variables have significant influence in determining voting behaviour: legislative party/nominee proposed programme and money politics. The two other variables which are political party identification and affiliated religious organization are not influential in determining voting behaviour of Kapas' residents in 2014's legislative election.
Kata Kunci:	Abstrak
Perilaku Memilih, Identifikasi Partai Politik, Organisasi Keagamaan	Penelitian ini adalah analisis perilaku pemilih orang Islam yang ditunjukkan oleh penduduk Kapas r, Bojonegoro pada tahun 2014. Ini adalah analisis deskriptif untuk menjelaskan korelasi antara 4 variabel dalam menentukan suara rakyat dalam pemilihan legislatif 2014 di pemilihan legislatif 2014 di Kabupaten Kapas. Variabel-variabel ini adalah: program yang diusulkan partai legislatif / calon, identifikasi partai, politik uang, dan organisasi keagamaan terafiliasi. Peneliti menggunakan metode kuantitatif untuk mengumpulkan data dan analisis deskriptif dalam bentuk distribusi data dan frekuensi data yang dikumpulkan melalui kuesioner. Selain itu, peneliti menggunakan pengujian Chi Square dan koefisien kontingensi untuk menemukan apakah variabel berkorelasi satu sama lain. Ada tiga pendekatan umum untuk menggambarkan perilaku memilih dalam penelitian ini: pendekatan sosiologi, pendekatan psikologi, dan pendekatan rasional. Mayoritas teori yang dirujuk oleh peneliti adalah teori oleh Paul F. Lazarfeld-Bernard Berelson, Angus Campbel, dan Anthony Downs. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa dua variabel tersebut memiliki pengaruh yang signifikan dalam menentukan perilaku memilih: program yang diusulkan partai legislatif / kandidat dan politik uang. Dua variabel lain yang merupakan identifikasi partai politik dan organisasi keagamaan yang terafiliasi tidak berpengaruh dalam menentukan perilaku memilih warga Kapas dalam pemilihan legislatif 2014.

1. Introduction

The Legislative General Election was held on 9 April 2014, it was intended to elect candidates for DPR, City and Provincial DPRD and DPD. The Legislative General Election itself is carried out based on Law No. 12 of 2003. In a democratic country, the mechanism used to convert the reality of society in the form of political representation which is then accommodated in representative institutions is elections. Through elections there are two main of about the meaning of representation that must be converted from the community into the legislature.

First, the concept of 'microcosm' which presupposes the legislature is a sample of a population called society. The legislature is a picture of the community it reflect the size of the community, how they think, feel and act. Second, the 'principal-agent' concept in which the legislature is how it can act on behalf of the parties who voted for it. A successful election can be seen from the implementation of all stages until the positions chosen are filled. It cannot be said to be a successful election if they are elected through methods that are full of violations and fraud which are contrary to the Luber principle and Jurdil (Pamungkas, 2010.p. 24).

On the other hand, unseccessfull election is a series of previous maturing political processes from yesterday to the 2014 Legislative Election, there must be a process of change considerations that underlie people's political choices. This change in political choice has become interesting to examine more on what factors influence voters, especially residents of the District of Kapas, Bojonegoro, in determining their choices during the Legislative Election to bring up choices that may change each election period, here are things that become the reason why the study is interesting to be conducted.

First, the absence of voters in the voting booth is indeed something natural. Because, in Indonesia, having actively participated in election is a right, not an obligation, as a result voters may use their rights but also may not. Voters who use their rights or do not exercise their rights should understand the implications of their choices, including their disadvantages. *Golput's attitude* is a response to the inability of the ruling party or government to carry out its functions. However, it could be that some of the other groups thought abstentions as meaning by giving approval to the ruling party to regain power.

Second, the existence of the Swing voter also determines the selection of one candidate. This occurs because the people who are less familiar with politics and have floating choices. In other words there are many factors that can influence swing voters to change their choices. One factor that is likely to occur is the issue of money politics. Money politics will have a negative impact to all levels of society. Because the power that should be given through a trust has been bought with money.

Third, one of the factors that can explain the voting behavior is *Party Identification*, namely when choosing in a public election, it will be influenced by the process of identifying itself with the party. The purpose is adopting psychoanalytic theory in the science of psychology where there are 3 processes a person has in certain behaviors, namely through the process of imitation, suggestion and identification, identification is someone's tendency to be the same as others. Other people who are the target of identification are called idols (a worshiped person) (Dieter, 2009, p. 38).

Fourth, the presence of the PKB as an Islamic-based party in Bojonegoro greatly determines the vote acquisition of Islamic parties in several electoral districts. Particularly in sub-districts with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) communities based and with the very active Nahdlatul Ulama Student Association (IPNU) making PKB gets the most votes among other Islamic parties in Kapas District. But the PKB's vote acquisition was still defeated compared to other liberal ideological parties such as Democrats, PDIPs, and Golkar. The following is a table of votes for the election of members of the Bojonegoro Regency DPRD in the cotton sub-district as the research location in the 2014 Legislative election.

2. Methodology

The method used in this study is a quantitative method and uses descriptive analysis in the form of analysis of frequency distribution data from answers to questionnaire questions and by using Chi Square testing and Contingency Coefficient to determine whether there is a relationship and the direction of the relationship of the variables studied.

The research location is the Kapas subdistrict area by taking research locations in all villages in Kapas sub-district namely Bakalan, Bangilan, Bendo, Bogo, Kalianyar, Kapas, Kedaton, Klampok, Kumpulrejo, Mojodeso, Ngampel, Padang Mentoyo, Plesungan, Sambiroto, Sembung, Semenpinggir, Sukowati, Tanjungharjo, Tapelan, Tikusan, Wedi. The sampling population of this study was the community of Kapas District, Bojonegoro Regency which was included in the final voter list (DPT) for the 2014 Legislative Election.

The target population of this study was people who exercised their voting rights in the 2014 Legislative Election because the research questions to be answered were around participating voters in the 2014 legislative election. While the withdrawal technique or the selection of informants in the study was *purposive sampling*. The sampling method used is *Stratified Random Sampling* 9 (Singarimbun, 1989). This technique is used because the population used is heterogeneous in nature, does not have a common similarity in terms of character, work and other variables. The following is the number of permanent voter lists and voting rights users in Kapas Bojonegoro District during the 2014 Legislative Election.

3. Theoretical Framework

The theory used to explain voting behavior are 3 approaches, namely sociological, psychological, and rational approaches. Each approach uses many theories from Paul F. Lazarsfeld - Bernard Berelson, Angus Campbel, and Anthony Downs (2009).

The sociological factor of the Columbia School, which was initiated by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Bernard Berelson (2009), mentions several things, namely: sociological background, social grouping, socio-economic predisposition, and social class. What is meant by sociological background here is for example, religion, characteristics of the region where he lives, gender and age. Flanagan explained that women in Europe have a tendency towards political choice in favor of the bourgeoisie or bourgeois party if in America the political choice of women will depend on war issues stretched out by one legislative candidate, because instinctively a woman does not like violence then he tends to avoid choosing parties that have an agenda of physical confrontation or war. This social grouping is almost the same as social characteristics but he views that one's profession does not also influence himself but

the professional ties he has can provide his own impetus to influence his political choices (Muhammad Asfar, 2006. p.137).

In addition to professional ties David Denver also explained that family and friendship can also have a powerful influence in determining one's political choices. Dean J grouped friendship into three namely primary, secondary and category groups where each type of group had different levels of group cohesiveness so the level of influence on each individual in the group also varied. Gerald Pomper (1978) describes the influence of social grouping on the voting behavior study into two variables, namely the socioeconomic predisposition of voters and voter families. The political outreach that someone receives in childhood greatly influences their political choices, especially when they first make political choices. Whether the father's or mother's political preferences influence the child's political preferences, while the socio-economic predisposition takes the form of religion adopted, residence, social class, demographic characteristics and so on. In studies of voting behavior in democratic countries, religion is the strongest sociological factor in influencing the choice of political parties. The relationship between religion and choosing behavior is very influential religious values always present in private life and the public is considered influential on the political and personal life of the voters. The purpose of social class here is that the people in making their choices are much influenced by the process of finding out which person has or represents the same class. Where the same class revolves around the same level of education, for example because the work of the employer, the tendency is to choose fellow entrepreneurs, then other than that based on income level.

The psychological approach here is present for the reaction of dissatisfaction with the sociological approach. This model is often referred to as the Michigan School introduced by Angus Campbell (2010). According to him psychology describes why someone has certain choices that can be explained by three functions of attitude. The function of the first attitude is a function of interest, each choice chosen is based on fulfilling his interests personally. The second attitude function is the adaptation function, that is in every choices he takes is a form of encouragement to adjust to the surrounding environment, for example, someone is forced to choose a particular candidate because he is under pressure from thugs or who otherwise he has to choose that person. The third attitude function is the function of self-defense and self-externalization where each choice that he chooses is especially superior, he projects ahead of time whether or not to pose a threat to his personality. This explanation is summarized by Dieter Roth in a trias determinant between party identification, candidate orientation and issue orientation. Where the community will consider these three things in determining their choices. The definition of identification here is that when choosing in an election the community will be influenced by the process of identifying itself with the party. The purpose of identifying itself with this party is adopting psychoanalytic theory in the science of psychology where there are 3 processes a person has in certain behaviors, namely through the process of imitation, suggestion and identification, where the definition of identification is a tendency in someone to be the same as others. Other people who are the target of identification are called idols (the word idol means a worshiped person).

There are several models in understanding the motivating factors of a person in behaving politically by using a rational approach, here are some of them: One of the classical theories of the rational approach was put forward by Anthony Downs. Downs explained that

rational voters are selfish because they only want to fulfill and prioritize their personal interests, especially to optimize their own well-being, but not all people always prioritize their own interests, they only want to say that rational choosing behavior is because people always want to fulfill their needs, actions which one will bring the greatest benefit to him then he will do, if this is included in the application of the science of choosing behavior, the choice of a person will always base on which candidate will bring the greatest value of benefits to him, he does not care about the concept of ideology in the party, what is important for him is whether the candidate's programs are in line with his expectations or not, to be able to estimate or calculate this profit, which is termed by the Downs with "utility maximation" which is to judge which candidate he will choose whether he must have information about the track record of the candidate or party in the past while serving or not yet serving as a representative of the people and projecting it in the future about what the candidates can do and whether it brings benefits to voters or not and voters will choose which party brings the most benefits to him (Surbakti,2010.p.165).

Political behavior is formulated as an activity relating to the process of making and implementing political decisions. Those who carry out activities are the government and the community. The activities carried out basically are divided into two, namely the functions of government held by the government and political functions held by the community. The government and society are a collection of people. Basically humans do activities divided into two, namely the function of government (government officials), and ordinary citizens who do not have the function of government (political function). But both the functions of government and politics are usually carried out by a separate structure, namely the political superstructure for government functions and political infrastructure for functions. The behavioralism approach answers that it is the individual who actually engages in political activities, while the behavior of political institutions is basically an individual patterned behavior. In reality, an action and political decision are not only determined by the function (task and authority) inherent in the institution that issued the decision, but also influenced by the personality of the individual who made the decision (Surbakti,2010. p.167-168).

According to Herbert Mc Closky, political participation is voluntary activities of the citizens of the community through the way they take part in the ruling process, directly or indirectly, in the process of making or forming public policies (Budiardjo, 1994, p. 183). Whereas according to Kevin R. Hardwic, political participation pays attention to the ways in which citizens try to convey their interests to public officials in order to be able to realize these interests. Political participation can be seen from several sides. As an activity, participation is divided into active participation and passive participation. Active participation includes activities of citizens to propose general policies, propose general policy alternatives that are different from government policies, submit criticisms and suggestions for improvement to straighten out policies, pay taxes, and participate in government leadership elections. On the other hand passive participation, among others, in the form of activities obeying the rules / orders, accepting and just carrying out any government decisions. From this category it can be stated that the orientation of active participation lies in political input and output, while passive participation lies only in the outcome or political output or output (Magill ,1996, p.183).

Some contexts of political behavior can also be explained through an analysis of participation in the voting process in general election activities. This participation activity, even though it looks only limited to the issue of voting, actually also concerns about the intentions implied in it. As in the general election process there are campaign activities that work to assist elections, help at polling stations, seek support for candidates, and actions that are basically intended to influence the final outcome. Therefore it must be realized that the general election activities are a form of large collective political participation that distinguishes it from other forms of political participation. In democratic countries general elections are a tool to provide opportunities for people to participate in influencing government policies and the prevailing political system (Surbakti,2010. p.142).

Broadly speaking, it can be stated that political participation is not only about the problem of high or low levels of participation, but also concerning the relationship of variables that influence the background of the emergence of participation, direction of development, consequences, and patterns of participation themselves.

4. Discussion

The voting behavior in this study was the participation of the community in using their voting rights to vote for one of the parties or candidates from a particular party in the 2014 legislative elections in Kapas District, Bojonegoro Regency. In this study the authors proposes four hypotheses, namely: the existence of a relationship between the choice of political parties with 4 consideration variables in determining the choice of political parties namely: a) Provision of Money Rewards, b) Party Identification, c) Program Conformity, and d) Religious Organizations

This first hypothesis is based on the assumption of Anthony Downs' theory that in determining his choices during elections, rational voters will be more inclined to base on which candidate will bring the greatest value of benefits to him, he does not care about the concept of ideology in the party concerned, which is important for him whether the candidate's programs are in line with his expectations or not, so he will choose which candidate will potentially provide the greatest benefit.

Departing from these theoretical assumptions, the researchers tested whether the Kapas Subdistrict community really based on the candidates' choices by considering the suitability of the program proposed by the candidates who were in accordance with the expectations of the Kapas District community. with the choice of candidates / political parties. The suitability of the candidate program has a positive and strong influence in determining party choices that will be taken by the community during the 2014 Legislative Election.

Then in the second hypothesis, based on the assumption of a psychological approach theory which explains why a person has certain choices which can be explained by three attitudinal functions. These attitudes are formed through a long process, that is, since we were little. The first stage is the stage where we get lessons from the family about what they think and teach us. Then the second stage is the stage of learning and socialization that we get from externally such as school friends, college and so on. Then in the third stage we begin to become involved in the ties of professional ties, certain reference groups, or political parties.

Then related to the third hypothesis, this hypothesis is based on a psychological approach to the theory assumption that explains why someone has a particular choice, because the voter identifies himself with a candidate, party figure, or party he likes that he will later choose when the election is held. This definition of identification is a tendency in a person to be the same as someone else. Other people who are the target of identification are called idols (the word idol means a worshiped person). Identification is a further form of imitation process and a suggestion process whose influence is very strong. For example, a teenager identifies himself with a famous singer whom he admires, then he will try to change his appearance to be the same as his idol singer, starting from the hair style, clothes, speech, even favorite foods. In general, the identification process takes place less realized by someone. But what is certain is that the idol is the target of identification is really known, whether directly (meeting, speaking) or indirect (through information media) If in the theory of choosing behavior the identification target is the party. The process of identifying itself with this party is identifying itself with all forms of identity inherent in the party such as the party platform, the program and the figure of the party figure that he idols and is proud of.

Departing from these theoretical assumptions, the researchers tested whether the identification process has a relationship with the choice of candidates / political parties during the election. From the results of these tests the researchers found that between the process of party identification and the choice of political parties had no relationship or had a very low relationship and were less significant in influencing the choice of political parties in the 2014 legislative elections in Kapas District.

The last hypothesis is related to the relationship of giving monetary rewards to the choice of political parties during elections. This hypothesis is based on the theoretical assumption of a rational approach that explains why a person has a particular choice, because every choice in him is orientated to get a greater profit compared to the effort he makes (in this case giving money in return).

5. Conclusion

Based on the findings, the researcher can draw conclusions, namely from four variables (program suitability, party identification, religious mass organizations, and giving money) that tested only two variables that have a strong relationship, namely program conformity and monetary rewards, while party identification variables and religious mass organizations have no relationship with the choice of political parties that will be punched during the election.

The findings show that it turns out that the suitability of the candidates / party program has a relationship with the choice of which party to choose in the legislative elections. The suitability of the respondent's program for candidates or political parties in Kapas Subdistrict is due to the role of the success teams from each party in this region. So that the public knows the candidates' programs from the dissemination of the successful team because not all respondents know the programs offered by all candidates or parties. Other findings indicate that the voting behavior has a relationship with the attitude of the Kapas District community when there are candidates / parties who give money to choose themselves, so the Kapas District community can be sure that all will accept it. However, for the party's choice, the community receives more money. To choose the party the community will elect candidates

with a certain nominal award. These two findings confirm Anthony Downs' theory of rational voter behavior theory, Downs explained that rational voters are selfish because they only want to fulfill and prioritize their personal interests, especially to optimize their own well-being, but not all people prioritize their own interests. rational choosing behavior because humans always want to meet their needs, which actions will bring the greatest benefits to themselves, they will do it.

This is indicated by the first behavior, namely choosing a party because it is based on a program that based on his personal expectations, which program will bring benefits to him, that party will be chosen, subsequently related to the phenomenon of the attitude of people who accept money but still choose in accordance with his own wishes indicate that the public wants to seek maximum profit for himself without considering the loss of the person who gave him money if he was not elected. Based on the research, from the 4 variables tested the dominant factor which became the main basis of consideration in determining the choice was the program suitability factor even though the respondents' answers had changed the researcher gave a question of boundaries and the main reason was the suitability of the program.

In addition, the findings of data in the field also show that religious organizations do not have a relationship with the choice of political parties in the 2014 legislative elections. This is contrary to Angus Campbell's attitude function theory that these attitudes are formed through a long process that is since we were young where the sub-district community since childhood already familiar with Islamic culture Nahdlatul Ulama then affiliates themselves automatically into it. However, this does not mean that they will vote for the NU Islamic Party because in the formation of attitudes there are many external influences from outside the influence of NU.

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